

## Introduction :

### Previously :

You are supposed to know the lesson in French before, to know the context.

A united Europe is a former idea from the XIXth century (The philosopher Kant, the writer Victor Hugo). After the WWI, Aristide Briand was the first politician who expressed the wish of the United States of Europe. But this idea failed with the 1929 crisis....

The project reappears after the WWII in a new context.

The process is called the European integration. And now, we are 28 countries joined in the European Union, the most integrated area in the world.

It is made of debates, progress and recoil, especially with the British policy. And the last decision in Great Britain was "the Brexit" !

### Key-question for this chapter:

- How the project of a European integration evolved since 1948?
- How did the British plan this project? What is their conception? What is their role and place?
- Did the USA encourage or curb the project?

## 1. 1946-1948 : Churchill involved in a kind of "United states of Europe".

### Question : How did Churchill play a role in the early debates for a European integration ?

Sources : Those different sources are linked.

- **Doc. 1** - [The Zurich speech](#), 19<sup>th</sup> September 1946
- **Doc. 2 et 3** - [The Hague Congress](#), 7-10 mai 1948

- **Doc. Nr 1. The Zurich speech**

Context :

Just one year after the end of the WWII.

A speech pronounced by Winston Churchill -who is no longer Prime Minister of UK-, the 19<sup>th</sup> September 1946, whether a few months after the Fulton speech (march) (when he introduced the situation in Europe to the USA).

He is speaking to all the European people, associations, governments...

At this moment, according to the Yalta and Postdam agreement, most of the countries in Europe are proceeding to elections, but...

Subject : Churchill is one of the people at the origin of the rebirth of the idea that a European union is a necessity.

Explain :

1. Explain the aftermaths of the WWI : 9 M. people died in Europe.  
Of the WWII : the casualties as important for civilians as for soldiers (over 50 M). Don't forget to speak about the victims of the concentration camps (resistants) and the Jewish's genocide. → "outrage against humanity"

2. Churchill is afraid about what is happening in the Eastern Europe... the URSS are organizing rigged elections in the countries they had liberated (Poland, Romania, Bulgaria...), and which are becoming communist dictatorships He already spoke about this in the Fulton speech.
3. He says that for the moment, European countries are protected by the atomic bomb, the weapons which made the USA a superpower after the WWII. But he fears the spread of it and the risk of a destruction of humanity.
4. He's proposing a solution: a European union and its institutions like the Council of Europe.
5. He asserts the main role of a reconciliation between France and Germany who are fighting since the XIX<sup>th</sup> century.

Critical : Churchill is a skilled politician and he has a very penetrating and practical point of view of the situation in Europe. He is a visionary.

This speech was heard and led to the Hague Congress.

- **Doc. Nr 2 & 3. The Hague Congress- 1948**

Context :

Two years later, Churchill has been heard during the Hague Congress. It lasted in Netherlands during 4 days in may (a symbolic date commemorating the end of the WWII).

But meanwhile, the cold war really began (Truman's doctrine, Marshall Plan, Jdanov doctrine → the Iron curtain).

This Congress was under the chairmanship of Churchill. The participants where politicians, resistant's organizations, economic leaders from all Europe .... Almost 800 participants.

Decisions :

The participants discussed about their idea of the European integration. Two movements emerged.

- The federalists who advocated a supranational Europe (that means to leave some aspects of the state's sovereignty).
- The unionists who choose a strengthened cooperation between the states.

They inspired the philosophy for a European integration: Human rights, democracy, justice, liberalism, social and economic progress.

Consequences :

One year later was founded a Council of Europe, based in Strasbourg, defending the Human rights with 10 members (47 today). Today, it is a lobbying association always working for Human rights (but they cannot decide). They decided symbols for Europe : flag, hymn.

Criticize : **The British point of view**

As you can see on the cartoon, the baby Europe, hope for the future (under the protection of a divine will power?) is under the protection of his parents, both agreeing. They symbolize the bipartisanship in UK between Tories (right) and Labor (Left), but for the moment they agree for the European decisions.

The conception of Churchill is for a unionist system "We are with Europe, but not of it."

- **Conclusion** : Churchill had a very important role for a resetting idea of European integration. He was a unionist, not a federalist. His ideal lead to a concrete organization: the Council of Europe. UK kept its Empire, integrated in the Commonwealth, and they felt still being a great power without the necessity of a more integrated area.

**The USA** promoted this ideal to face the spread of communism in Europe.

## II. 1948-1973 : the debate about the British entry

### Question : a turning point in the British policy

#### II.1. UK besides the UE integration

Until 1957, UK was associated to the spirit of a European association, and to the ECCS (European Community of Coal and Steel). It was a non-conflicting partnership.

With the treaty of Rome (1957), which decided the creation of the EEC (European Economic Community), the leaders realized that they were falling behind the continent.

→ They proposed an against-project (1956-1958): a free-trade zone to preserve their advantages and their links with Commonwealth.

De Gaulle and Adenauer refused this project. For De Gaulle, it is not in favor of France's interests and for Adenauer (who is federalist), it misrepresents the ideal of the European project.

#### II.2. The French refusal

- Doc. 4 - De Gaulle's veto on British membership, 1967.

Describe : a cartoon of 1967,

A British soldier, carrying the union jack, is landing on a beach. It seems to be very dangerous and inhospitable because the beach is protected, as during the WWII- by bunkers, barbed wire, mines. One of the bunkers is the portrait of General De Gaulle.

The scene reminds the Normandy landings in 1944, organized by the USA.

Explain :

UK tried to submit its application twice in 1963 and in 1967. But the country faced the veto of De Gaulle. De Gaulle thought first about the French power and about the independence and France. He said that UK would be the "Trojan horse" of the USA. If they enter the community, the USA will control indirectly the community operation.

It took a few years and the resignation of De Gaulle in 1969 to submit a new application, which was accepted by Pompidou with Edward Heath government.

Conclusion : What is surprising in this joining, is that the conservative politicians were the sponsors of a European integration, when the Labor was opposed to (for them, it was a political argument to win elections). In UK, the European integration was already a very strong political challenge.

### III. 1973-1997 : a conflicting membership with the conservatives

#### III.1. Immediately, a critical membership

The Labor won the elections for Parliament in 1974 with the major theme of an opposition to the conservatives who decided the entry to the EEC.

They proposed to renegotiate the membership. Their aim was to obtain concessions in favor of the British interests. But they didn't succeed. And the UK said "YES" to the referendum for the entry.

Since this moment, the membership became always critical while the couple VGE/Schmidt built decisive advances (like the European monetary system).

So, the British already criticized the fact they paid too much.

#### III.2. 1979-1990 : with Margaret Thatcher, the conservatives turned Eurosceptic

- **Doc. 5. 6. 7 - [The Bruges speech, Margaret Thatcher, 20th September 1988.](#)**



Previously, in a context of economic crisis in Great Britain, M. Thatcher started a deep disagreement at the Dublin Summit with the famous sentence "*I want my money back*" : Europe costs more than it brings back.

Almost ten years later, the Iron woman, sometimes nicknamed Genghis Kahn, pronounced this speech at the college of Europe in Bruges (private international school specialized in European studies), in front of 800 persons. But indirectly, she gave an advertisement to the other European members, especially to Jacques Delors, President of the European commission.

She thinks that the current policy is wrong and she explains her conception, her idea of Europe.

- The European Union must be only an association of states, each one keep its sovereignty.
- The EU must be integrated to the world, in an internationalist logic
- She wants to create a big market. She defends the free trade, the free enterprise, the free play of competition, deregulation in the enterprise = the neo-liberalism stream with Reagan. So she is in favor of the Single European Act (1986)
- The European defense must be kept under the NATO's authority.

Conclusion :

A vision which profits to UK, allied with the USA but independent, and included in a big market. It a very "Gaullist" vision.

She contrasted with Jacques Delors who defended a federalist vision (a transfer of sovereignty to the European institutions). She opposed to a monetary union, to a social Europe...).

In fact, she didn't succeed and the integration was strengthened.

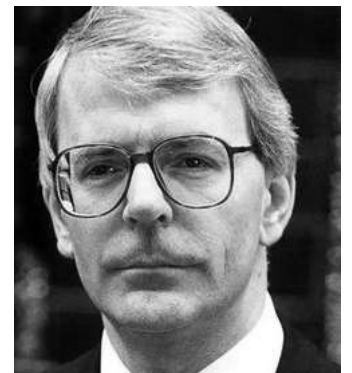
This point of view is a major reason of the fall of Mrs Thatcher in UK. She was replaced by John Major, conservative.

#### III.3. 1990-1997 : John Major's failure

He was more moderate, more consensual for the European affairs. He had the responsibility of the negotiations for the Maastricht treaty (1992). He tried to obtain an adjusting treaty and an "opting out" in a Euro-skeptical context.

He faced the opposition of the Thatcher's side !

He obtained the vote for the treaty with the help of the Labor without having obtained concessions.



The mad cow crisis increased the Euroscepticism.

Conclusion : The conservatives, who were first the instigators of a European integration turned -with the action of M. Thatcher- in a Euroscepticism.

They are in favor of the integration but they want a free-choice Europe !

#### IV. 1997-2007 : The new Labor with Tony Blair



With Blair, the Labor converted to Europe.

After 20 years of defeats, new politicians like Tony Blair or Gordon Brown imagined a “third way” between the right and the left, the way of a liberal model with a social policy (for us a social-democracy).

Blair looked like a young (44 years old in 1997) and modern politician.

He won the elections in 1997. The context is favorable with an economic recovery.

He had a positive attitude in favor of a social Europe by signing the European Social Charter and the Human Rights Charter.

He accepted the idea of a common policy for defense and security (and he negotiated with J. Chirac in 1998, St Malo Summit).

He declared that UK could enter the Euro zone when it would be ready.

→But finally, the positive economic context turned into his disadvantage.

The public opinion thought that UK don't need the € because the economy is well.

→2003 : a very high disagreement between UK and France + Germany about the 2nd Gulf war. UK joined the coalition with the USA for the fight against Irak. Germany and France objected the risk of destabilization for all Middle East and disapproved the British involvement.

→2005 : At last, UK decided to organize their vote on the Constitutional treaty after the French referendum. France voted NO and UK was relieved because the treaty is buried !

The compromise of Lisbon (2009) suits them.

#### V. Since 2010 : David Cameron and the Brexit



Cameron is a moderate conservative. But he faces two problems :

- The effects of the financial crises since 2008.
- The migrants crisis since the Arab spring in 2011.

Csq : the UKIP climb = they both had the same score for the municipal elections.

In 2014, UKIP obtained 27 % of votes in UK.

⇒ During his second election campaign, he promised to organize a referendum for the membership of UK in Europe. But he failed.

**Doc. 8 - [Doc. 8 – Election campaign for the Brexit : Ukip leader Nigel Farage unveiled the controversial poster in Westminster, condemned by MPs from all main Westminster parties.](#)**

Nigel Farage's campaign was founded on the fear on migrants, racism.

⇒ In June 2016, the British choose the Brexit.

(comment on the results...)

⇒ Cameron resigned and was replaced by Theresa May.